

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 SMS-02 ACDA-12 CIAE-00  
DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05  
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 EB-08 TRSE-00 EA-10  
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AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
USMISSION USNATO  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

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E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PEPR, UR, XH  
SUBJECT: CEAUSESCU MEETS WITH BREZHNEV: ALL ON  
BOARD EXCEPT ZHIVKOV

SUMMARY: CEAUSESCU'S MEETING WITH BREZHNEV IN THE  
CRIMEA ON AUGUST 7 MARKS THE COMPLETION OF THE  
ANNUAL ROUND OF EASTERN EUROPEAN VISITORS, WITH  
THE EXCEPTION OF THAT OF ZHIVKOV, WHOM WE ASSUME  
WILL ARRIVE SOON. THE TASS REPORT OF THE CEAUSESCU-  
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BREZHNEV MEETING WAS PREDICTABLY THINNER THAN THOSE  
OF THE EARLIER MEETINGS. WE PROVIDE A BRIEF SUMMARY  
OF THE MEETINGS TO DATE, USING THE REPORT OF THE  
CEAUSESCU MEETING AS A BENCHMARK. END SUMMARY.

1. WE NOTE THAT CEAUSESCU'S ARRIVAL, UNLIKE THAT  
OF ALL THE OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN LEADERS, WAS

NOT ANNOUNCED IN THE SOVIET PRESS, PRESUMABLY BECAUSE HE ARRIVED ONLY SHORTLY BEFORE THE MEETING WITH BREZHNEV. ANOTHER NOTABLE ASPECT IS THAT GROMYKO PARTICIPATED IN THE TALKS WITH CEAUSESCU, THE FIRST TIME HE HAS DONE SO WITH AN EASTERN EUROPEAN LEADER DURING THE CRIMEA MEETINGS THIS YEAR.

2. CEAUSESCU'S MEETING WITH BREZHNEV WAS DESCRIBED AS "OPEN AND FRIENDLY," A CHARACTERIZATION WHICH FALLS SHORT OF THOSE FOR THE OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN LEADERS -- MOST OF WHICH EMPHASIZED "FRIENDSHIP" AND UNITY OF VIEWS (ONLY THE REPORT OF THE KADAR MEETING DID NOT SPECIFY UNANIMITY OF VIEWS). THE TASS REPORT INDICATES THAT THE CEAUSESCU-BREZHNEV TALKS TOUCHED ON THREE SUBJECTS:

-- ECONOMIC RELATIONS: GREAT POSSIBILITIES FOR DEVELOPMENT OF BILATERAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION WERE SEEN IN CONNECTION WITH THE PROGRAM OF THE 32ND CEMA SESSION. NOT UNEXPECTEDLY, THIS CONTRASTS WITH THE ASSERTIONS OF THE OTHER EE LEADERS WHO, AT THE LEAST, HAILED PROSPECTS FOR WORKING OUT PROGRAMS OF SPECIALIZATION AND COOPERATION ON A LONG-TERM BASIS AND WHO IN SOME CASES CITED LONG-TERM COOPERATION IN CONNECTION WITH CEMA PROGRAMS;

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-- DISARMAMENT: CEAUSESCU AND BREZHNEV STRESSED NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, THE FINAL SSOD DOCUMENT, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MILITARY ASPECTS OF DETENTE. OF THE OTHER EE'S ONLY THE KADAR MEETING WAS SAID TO HAVE TOUCHED ON THE SSOD, AND IN GENERAL DISARMAMENT AND DETENTE RECEIVED MINIMAL ATTENTION -- ALTHOUGH THE GIEREK MEETING DID ENDORSE DETENTE ON THE BASIS OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT; AND

-- INTERFERENCE FROM ABROAD. THE BREZHNEV-CEAUSESCU MEETING EMPHASIZED THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES "TO FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE, AGAINST ANY FORM OF INTERFERENCE FROM ABROAD IN THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIRS." THE ONLY CONDEMNATIONS OF INTERFERENCE IN THE OTHER MEETINGS TOOK THE FORM OF ATTACKS ON IMPERIALISM AND ON CHINA OR, IN THE CASE OF THE REPORT OF THE HUSAK MEETING, ON THE WESTERN HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN.

3. THE REPORT OF THE CEAUSESCU-BREZHNEV MEETING IS ALSO NOTABLE IN THAT IT DOES NOT CRITICIZE CHINA OR THE WEST AND SAYS NOTHING ABOUT UNITY. CEAUSESCU

CLEARLY WAS NOT GOING TO ALLOW HIMSELF TO BE DRAWN INTO THE SORT OF SUPPORT FOR SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY POSITIONS WHICH THE OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN LEADERS HAVE GIVEN MOSCOW. CHINA HAD BEEN CONDEMNED BY ALL THE OTHER EE LEADERS, THE WEST WAS ATTACKED BY GIEREK AND HUSAK. ON THE QUESTION OF UNITY, KADAR, GIEREK, AND HONECKER HAD GIVEN NODS IN THE DIRECTION OF CLOSE PARTY TIES OR OF THE "SOCIALIST COMMONWEALTH."

4. ON THE EVE OF RECEIVING HUA KUO-FENG, CEAUSESCU HAS PAID HIS DUE TO MOSCOW AND, IN OUR VIEW, HAS GIVEN THE SOVIET LEADERS ABOUT ALL THAT COULD BE EXPECTED UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES. TOON  
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## Message Attributes

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